1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

184 members of their families, who also have a sense of being a part of the
[186] wide world.

The true fisherman or merchant seaman looks down upon agricultural
463 pursuits, although many of his fellow islanders living a few miles inland are
[702] farmers like their compatriots on the mainland. But even the sons of these island farmers are directed into the navy by law, with the result that the navy fills its requirements from the best of them and leaves the unused balance for the army or air force.

184 An island, by its very nature, is for its inhabitants a comprehensible uni-
829 verse. Its people supposedly become much alike, giving rise to the belief of
186 Athenians that the people from a certain island make loyal and dependable servants, that the people from another island are petty thieves and deceitful, and those from another island are hard workers. One island, according to Athenians, seemed to be inhabited entirely by delightful "screwballs," because dozens of jokes were supposed to have originated there. The impression of the alikeness of all people on an island is fostered by the fact that islanders away from home tend to stand together with their fellow islanders against all comers.[12] For instance, one of our Greek neighbors, obliged to tell the drunken husband of her maid never to come in her yard again, felt it necessary also to discharge the laundress, "because she comes from the same island as that terrible man and would take his side even though she knew he was in the wrong." The Greek housewife also explained that people from that island were reputed to be "violent and wild" and she was taking no chances, even though the laundress hardly knew the offending man. No Greek servant or neighbor questioned this action as anything but logical and necessary.

184 Island villages, as later discussion will show, differ architecturally from
511 and are in general much cleaner than the other villages of Greece. While this cleanliness gives the impression of a higher level of living, actually on many of the islands people are close to the poverty line much of the time because of inadequate local resources and the need to buy elsewhere, with what little money they have, those products not available at home. A shipwreck can bring the death of the family head or, if not such tragedy, at least economic ruin.

184 Despite the fact that each island has its own unique flavor and stands out
[829] in popular opinion as a well-defined little social world, there is a way of life common to all of the islands. The beliefs about the sea, the diet, the way ships' crews are formed, the responsibility which the ship captain's wife feels for the families of the crew while the men are at sea, and the varying political alignments would, along with other lesser features, set off the seafarer from his fellow countrymen in degree if not as a distinct type.

123 To talk at dusk with the fishing-boat crews as they get ready for their
184 long night's work or as they untangle and dry their nets along the beach in

TABLE 1. BUSINESSES AND SERVICES IN EIGHT GREEK VILLAGES*

	Tobacco village near Xanthe	Village A near Mesolongi	Village B near Mesolongi	Village in Central Greece	Mountain village near Lamia	Village near Agrinion	Village A in Macedonia	Village B in Macedonia
Population	1145	1062	2030	1372	1060	2915	1654	2493
Flour mills	6	1			2	3	2	
Bakeries	1		3	1		3		
Groceries	6	8	3	7	6	21	7	8
Barbershops	3	2	3	3	2	5		
Coffeeshops	6	8	5	5	1	7	3	3
Carpenters	5				2			
Masons	12			4	4			
Shoemakers	5	1		2	1	4	1	1
Saddlemakers	1		1	2				
Tinsmiths	1					1		
Blacksmiths	2	1	2	3				
Butchers	2	5		4	3	6		
Tailors	1	1		3	1	1	2	3
Dressmakers	3	6		10	2			
Carriagemakers						2	1	
Yardgoods shops				2		1		
Tobacco-news			2			2		
Restaurants			6			4		

* Includes those services mentioned for two or more villages.
Source: Village studies by Near East Foundation, Greek Ministry of Agriculture, and United States Mission to Greece (mimeographed).

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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162
256
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445
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275

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443
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294
Now and then we find mention of a shop grossing over $5000 a year, but this is exceptional and means that the proprietor has to extend a great deal of credit to take in that amount. Mention could be made here of the yardgoods shops which have come into existence because of the women's desire for the factory-made cotton goods, often of inferior quality. Often they sell beautiful handmade woolen fabrics at ridiculously low prices just to buy the cotton goods which they take to a local dressmaker in order to have a frock in the modern style.

463
445
The artisans ply their crafts in small shops, often in full view of those passing on the street. By working near the door or window they take advantage of the daylight and thus use less electricity in their dim ateliers. The list of these artisans for a village in Central Greece reveals much about them and about the Greek village itself:

Two saddlemakers — who are also part-time farmers.

Two blacksmiths — both well-trained skilled laborers owning their own shops.

294
Two shoemakers — one only repairs shoes, while the other also makes new shoes.

Three tailors — one is exceptionally good, but the others are considered poor in their work.

Four butchers — all have out-of-door shops and kill animals only as needed. Usually one or two sheep are butchered each week. The owners cook the intestines which they sell very readily.

294
Ten seamstresses — some farm in addition.

305
Three barbers — one popular, the other two fair. All are located in the coffeehouses.

804
One horseshoe maker — owns twenty-five stremmas of land, which he farms. (One stremma is one fourth of an acre.)

533
Four masons — one owns eight stremmas of land which he farms, while the rest own no land. Two of these men are in the small village musical group which plays at all weddings and festivals.

494
Five cart owners — who earn a living by transporting products.

This random presentation of the services found in eight Greek villages scattered over Central and Northern Greece provides a quick introduction to, rather than any conclusive statement about, the business activity going on around the village square.

377
178
Telephone and electric poles indicate whether these two utilities are available locally. There is usually only one telephone, either in the office of the gendarmerie, the local community council, or a centrally located café.

206
Should the village be one of those favored with electricity, the peasants proudly inform the visitor of that fact. When we asked what the advantages of electricity are, we got various replies: "Electricity brings cleanliness. We used to have smelly kerosene lamps." "Now we can light the streets and see where we walk in the evening." "We can have radios and learn what

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 "Are most of the houses in this village like this one?"

"Yes, only the priest and the teacher have two rooms in their homes, but people here are beginning to think about building bigger houses."

"How do you go about building a house such as this?".

[463] [465] "Oh, we get all the materials together and then call one of the builders who lives here in the village. It may take us quite a while to collect the material, depending upon the prices we get paid for our crops. We have to pay the master builder fifty drachmas a day; it usually takes him about fifteen days, since members of the family help him. We need him because he knows best how to place the stone in the walls so they will be firm."

The woman showed little interest in the actual details of construction, but quickly passed to the ceremonies connected with a new house. She [825] [788] pointed out that when the cornerstone was laid the family and relatives came together, cut the throat of a cock, and let the blood spill on the four corners of the house, selecting the eastern corner first. Just prior to this ceremony, money was thrown out to the workers. Customs vary, as we [778] discovered, as to just what was buried in the cornerstone, but in this Peloponnesian village the family buried earth from a sacred place near the village where they had found a treasured ikon; they also included a small wooden cross and an ikon of the Holy Virgin. If the house is built as a dowry for the daughter, then some of her personal possessions such as a [574] dress or a shoe are also included in the cornerstone. Usually a big dinner of roast lamb follows the laying of the cornerstone.

A second ceremony occurs when the topmost beam of the house is in place. The roof has not yet been laid, but this is the time for the family to bring presents to the workmen, who upon receiving a gift call out the [793] [788] [777] name of the donor and wish him many years and a happy life. Later on, when the house is finished, the priest is called. He must be the first person to enter, after which he blesses the house and departs. Thereupon, for good luck, a young boy must be the first to step in.

[352] [583] Now the furniture can be installed and the family can settle down. The dowry chests, containing valuables saved up for the unmarried daughter, will be placed along a wall and the dowry blankets piled on top. "And unmarried girls must never sit on this chest or they will never get married," declared our informant.

[352] [353] Other furniture includes a small table along the wall over which is hung a large mirror. The family photographs are stuck into the edges of the mirror frame. Pictures also decorate the walls, as do pots and pans and other cooking utensils. Two or three chairs complete the roll call of furniture.

351 In other visits to village homes our attention was directed more to the [513] than to the interior. The weather would be warm and balmy and the vines in leaf. The family had in reality moved out of doors for the season,

1:Sanders Z-5,8 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

type among us — the 'chewer' who would squander the $500 right and left in the hope that the next year the cousin in the United States would send some more money in answer to a plea of distress!"

Here, then, is what one might call an illustration of a normal process of change in attitude, the peasant becoming the farmer. When the house rather than the accumulation of more land begins to be stressed, the farmer is moving to "city ways." Throughout the south, in the Peloponnesos, the younger people seem more ready to move cityward than do their elders, who still insist that one should hold onto the land.

In Northern Greece when there is a shift from the land the whole family, young and old, moves together, whereas in the Peloponnesos the young people make the move on their own. This seems to indicate that when the traditional attitude toward land changes, another basic change in peasant life is occurring — in family relationships.[4] However, everywhere in the southern villages, as elsewhere in the country, the village shopkeeper, barber, shoemaker, and other artisans, as well as the priest, all own land which they farm if they can find the time; if not, some member of their family works it instead.

On the basis, then, of dozens of interviews — only a small sampling has been quoted — carried out in thirteen thousand miles of travel in the provinces, some generalizations may be attempted. Wide regional variations are apparent. One may generalize, though conscious of many exceptions, that peasants on fairly good soil which they work with their time-honored methods by hand and not by machines hold strongly to the belief that the earth and the earth alone is their treasure and their great security. On the other hand, where peasants in Northern Greece and elsewhere live in areas frequently troubled by war, or on marginal land, they will reluctantly accept a chance to move away from their family fields — even to the cities. But those who sold their land before the war and lost all of their money because of devaluation now appreciate the worth of land even more. In the fertile plains where mechanization has come, the attitude toward land corresponds more to that in Western Europe and the United States: it becomes a commodity rather than a part of the family heritage. In areas of high education and of long-time contact with the city, such as in much of the Peloponnesos or in Attica, the urban values and attitudes as to land and family have so permeated the thinking of the young that they prefer nonfarm work when this can be found, abandoning the emphasis their elders still place upon "the good earth" as treasure, security, and heritage.[5]

The Cycle of Land Ownership (Attica)

Whatever the quality of the villager's attachment to his fields is now, he always has had, and still has, an intimacy with his fields that the city

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Tobacco Growing in Thrace

249 276 656 During an interview with some peasants in the office of the commune secretary of Toxotae in Thrace during May 1955, I was surprised to see some of the men pull out pink cigarette paper in which they expertly rolled cigarettes for a leisurely smoke.

"But why the pink paper?" I wanted to know.

"We are tobacco producers," they answered with an air of distinct pride. "We can keep some of the crop for our own use, but must use pink paper to distinguish our cigarettes from those that are bought."

"Yes," a gendarme added. "Any time I see a person smoking a pink cigarette I can go up to ask for a certificate showing that he is a tobacco grower and thus entitled to 'roll his own'!"

249 [123] [312] This conversation, which lasted for more than four hours, gave me an even better understanding of tobacco farming than I had gained on previous trips, as did frequent visits in the fields with the peasants who were transferring the plants from the seedbeds to the carefully prepared land or hauling barrels of water in their oxcart from a spring or well to the place where the planting was going on. What was most helpful of all, however, was the intimate story of one tobacco village, as described in the Near East Foundation study mentioned earlier. It gave me a deeper realization of the problems that the people there continue to face.[1]

621 162 [167] Dafnon, a village of 1145 people in 1952, is northwest of the city of Xanthe. This community, like so many in Northern Greece, was settled by Greek refugees from Asia Minor and the Pontus following the departure of 127 Turkish families in 1924. By 1935, 294 families had moved in, attracted as they were by the rich vegetation, the good climate of this semi-mountainous area, and the possibility of raising a high-priced product such as tobacco. When the first official land redistribution was carried out in 1935, and a second in 1938, it became apparent that the allotments were too small for the support of a family, and so people began to leave. Today there are 255 families.

621 36 [727] [526] [373] The village, covering slightly over 70 acres, sprawls over a hill. Two former Turkish mosques have been converted into Greek Orthodox churches; six grocery shops have total assets of less than $1700; three of the six coffeehouses attract the young men because each has a gramophone and a battery radio; the village school, destroyed along with many of the houses during the guerrilla war in 1948, was rebuilt in 1950. Outside the village is an athletic field on which 30 young men, members of the sports club, practice faithfully in an effort to uphold their reputation as the best football (soccer) team in the area. In the evening, the streets are dark, for Dafnon has no electricity and its people must rely upon kerosene lamps.

621 ●463 423 Of the 255 families previously mentioned, 220 own land; 32 own no

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thrace

land but work rented land or as farm laborers; and three are in business (baker, coffeehouse proprietor, and dressmaker). Some of these landowners, in addition to farming, run a local business, or practice a trade such as carpentering and smithing, but their basic orientation is toward the land.

Being farmers, one might assume that they could grow some of their own food. A few manage to do this. Of the 589 acres of cultivated land belonging to the village people, 338 acres are in tobacco. This cash crop, therefore, takes up about 57 percent of all arable land. Corn accounts for 187 acres, vegetable gardens 25 acres, potatoes 20 acres, alfalfa 6 acres, and other crops 13 acres. But no matter what methods one uses in Dafnon, it is impossible to grow enough food for 1145 people on the shallow land. There are two ways out: first, grow a cash crop such as tobacco, sell it, and use the income to buy food and other necessities; the second is for a large number of families to be resettled elsewhere and thus provide sufficient land for those that remain. The latter suggestion is impossible, since other rural areas are also overcrowded and the opportunities in the cities are not yet equal to the demand of those making the exodus from the rural areas. Indeed, cities have been discouraging the influx of new families in search of work.

This leaves only the other possibility of getting most of the family income from tobacco alone. Here, again, the tobacco producer is caught at the mercy of the market or in the "price scissors." Without food of his own production, he has to sell his tobacco at any price offered simply in order to have bread for his children. The producer, according to this study of Dafnon, knew that tobacco prices, including the premium paid by the state, had risen over prewar prices 260 times. This was small consolation for, in reading *Vema*, an Athenian newspaper dated December 14, 1951, he also learned that costs of foodstuffs had risen 425 times, clothing 554 times, fuel 394 times, sundries 367 times, manufactured goods 467 times, and imported supplies 416 times.

It is difficult to grow tobacco, particularly the Oriental type (Basmas variety) that requires so much manipulation, leaf by leaf, with an average leaf being four inches long and two and one-half inches wide. The first plowing is usually done in February or March. Seedbeds are heavily manured, and the seed is well mixed with sand and ashes, then sown. The beds are pressed down by foot for better germination; sieved manure is scattered over them; and the beds are watered. This watering is continued, usually morning and evening, until the end of May when the plants are ready to be transplanted. Because of this need for water, the beds are always located near some accessible water supply.

The tobacco fields are usually plowed under three times before the tobacco plants are set out. The same fields are used for tobacco year after

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

supporting Greek version of "Standing on the Corner, Watching All the Girls Go By."

Or, in Northern Greece and the Grammos Mountains, one would find in the village of Kotili, with about six hundred people, that there were two shops which sold cigarettes and coffee.[2] A score of the men, in addition to being farmers and shepherds, were woodworkers; another score were masons, and one was a cobbler. That represented the specialization of that village, since all the other men were farmers-shepherds-laborers. But it is at coffeehouses such as those in Kotili, close by the border, that one gains an insight into the real meaning of Balkan politics. For here the older villagers will tell the visitor of the days back in the first decade of the century when Bulgarian *komitadjis,* while the area was still under Turkey, came to try to persuade the people to join the Bulgarian cause. But the people remained loyal to the orders of their church authorities and resisted the efforts of the Bulgarians to enroll their local children in special schools or to enlist the adults in a premature revolt against the Turks. As one listens to the stories of violence and national struggle, the surrounding mountains which at first seemed peaceful begin to assume a brooding look. And one learns that national traditions are preserved and passed on in the coffeehouse, with the old men telling the eager young men of the price that was paid to keep them Greek.

Vamvakia, on the Serrai plains, provides a final illustration of the combined variety shop–coffeehouse.[3] This village, too, numbers about six hundred people and has as its only business a cheese-making establishment and three coffeehouses. There is also one carriage maker who farms as well. The merchandise for the shops is brought from Serrai by the bus driver, who takes in the orders and brings back the supplies for a small fee. These coffeehouses are of brick and clay-mud construction and have the usual equipment of small tables and chairs. Two of them have battery radios for the entertainment of the customers. Coffee is the usual beverage, while ouzo and soda drinks (in summer) are also popular. Spoon sweets, such as vanilla or fruit preserves, are often sold.

We may conclude, therefore, that in most villagers of less than a thousand people one will generally find coffeehouses of the combined variety-shop type. Although the women may now and then view them as shops, the men almost invariably think of them as coffeehouses. This social function outweighs any economic function they might possess.

As size increases, say to more than a thousand people, the variety shops and grocery stores become separate establishments and the coffeehouse devotes itself almost exclusively to serving beverages. This is what most Greeks would consider the typical village coffeehouse, although the relative numbers of each kind are not known.

The specialized coffeehouses can frequently accommodate fifty to seventy

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)A63 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the members of several farm households get supplementary income from various sources besides wage labor. Bee-keeping, for example, is becoming an increasingly popular supplementary activity. Three households have as many as a dozen hives and sell the honey. A few households raise pigeons as an extra source of food, and now and then one or two may join together to raise a pig. One farmer's son has what might be called the "fish concession" in Vasilika. He contracts to buy the fresh fish from an itinerant vendor and then sells the fish in Vasilika at a tiny profit.

The proprietorship of the coffeehouses in Vasilika enables two of Vasilika's households substantially to supplement the income which they derive from their agricultural holdings.

Two young, still unmarried girls have had training as dressmakers. One of the girls, who learned her skill in Athens, spends all her time sewing and rarely contributes to fieldwork on the farm. The second girl, who had her apprenticeship in Levadhia, works on clothes for her customers in intervals between all her field and household chores. Every woman in the village can do some sewing and several have foot-driven machines, but the two seamstresses are kept busy and add to the cash income of their households.

The traditional role of the village priest is occupied in Vasilika by a substantial farmer, with a wife, five grown children, and several grandchildren. He not only performs his regular religious duties but is also the head of the church and the few properties owned by it. He receives a small salary from the state, and also derives income from performing baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Greek Orthodox tradition requires the priest to officiate at other occasions, such as the dedication of a new home or the termination of a woman's forty days of seclusion after childbirth, and he receives small money gifts for these services. But on the tax rolls of the community the priest's occupation is listed as farmer. This is a reasonable designation because both he and his wife, natives of the village, have inherited some local lands. The priest's household, therefore, participates in the agricultural cycle common to the rest of the farmers. Although the priest now confines himself largely to supervision, if there is an unexpected need for extra labor, he tucks up his flowing robes and pitches in.

The village church organization provides for three additional salaried posts: two farmers serve as chanters and an elderly widow as sexton. Finally, the formal political organization of the village includes the position of secretary to the village council. This office is a minor civil service post which requires no qualification other than literacy, pays a small monthly stipend, and is usually held by the appointee as long as he performs his duties satisfactorily.

In all the cases just described, the supplementary activities are superimposed on the grape-wheat-cotton-tobacco farming base. The shepherds of contemporary Vasilika, however, have a significantly different round of life which there is insufficient space to discuss fully here.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Specialization of Labor

233 563 [166] [463] [434] Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi* by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They augment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

233 563 511 434 [464] [262] [342] From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly built one-room brick houses.

233 563 621 555 87 [641] [435] Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their children are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the shepherds in Vasilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more formal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shepherd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in the eyes of the shepherd community.

233 563 571 621 Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people of Vasilika.

463 445 In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans, and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident carpenters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 · EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Vasilika's inhabitants and some of the congruent attitudes. The householders of Vasilika take it for granted that they will use part of their produce, in kind or in cash, to pay for the services of various specialists. They rarely make repairs on their houses or on their equipment; they rarely make shelves or simple pieces of furniture. In short, they do not have the habit of pottering and tinkering about the farms either from necessity or because they enjoy it. Vasilika's farmers and shepherds consider themselves specialists; they view themselves with pride as experts in farming and sheepherding, and assign the same dignity to the expertness of others. To say of a man, *"Kseri ti dhulya tu,"* "He knows his work," is a compliment, and the villagers use the phrase often. They do not expect a man to know how to do anyone else's work. One specialty is considered enough.

Such a point of view means that a farmer, if his saddle strap breaks, does without a saddle or borrows someone else's until the saddle-maker comes by, even if it means several weeks of inconvenience. In one of Vasilika's households, the stone wall of one side of an oven was accidentally broken by a tractor plow one day in April of 1956. At the end of July, the wall had still not been repaired —even temporarily—because the stonemason with whom the farmer was accustomed to deal had not yet had time to come to fix it. In the meantime, the women baked their bread in a neighbor's oven. We learned later that the entire oven was finally rebuilt in the spring of the next year.

When a farmer wants to cover his earth floor with cement, or when he wants the walls of his house whitewashed for Easter, he often pays to have these jobs done by a "master." On one occasion, a stonemason was persuaded to put screens on the windows of the house we lived in, but he went to a carpenter to have wooden frame pieces cut to the proper length. A final illustration indicates not only the existence of this point of view, but also the way in which those in Vasilika might greet a different one. The village house in which we lived had several broken windowpanes when we moved into it. Since the winter rains were due, we thought it imperative to get new glass in. My husband went to Levadhia, purchased glass and putty, and replaced the broken panes. The farmer who owned the house watched my husband work. He kept making the sign of the cross and repeated again and again in awed tones, "A professor who is also a master glazier!" The farmer himself had never thought of repairing his own windows, and for anyone in as exalted a position, from Vasilika's point of view, as that of "professor," to make such a repair had for the farmer a touch of the quality of a miracle.

With the increasing use of machinery on the farms, the villagers may be forced into learning mechanical skills; but the emerging pattern seems to be one in which the tractor operators and a village man who learned mechanics in the Greek Air Force have enough skill to make minor repairs and are called on by other farmers when they need help with their pumps. Major repairs must still await a mechanic from Levadhia. For the Vasilika farmers, however, the inconvenience of having to wait for expert personnel to repair machinery is not a source of special irritation. American farmers, who have been accustomed to acting as their own mechanics, are now beginning to deal with machinery so complex as to require expert repairs. Such dependence is new and annoying for

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 463 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

445 them. But Vasilika's farmers easily fit the need for mechanics into their old
●463 patterns.

[433] The constant utilization of specialists means that the farmers and shepherds of Vasilika have not for generations expected to be economically self-sufficient, but have always assumed that some part of their produce either had

[178] to be sold to buy services or had to be directly exchanged for them. The innovations since 1950, which have increased the proportion of cash crops raised, have involved no new concepts, nor have they required the development of any new attitudes. What has happened has been an extension and intensification of the

262 already existing patterns. This is equally true of the purchase of foods as it is
438 of skills. Olive oil, macaroni products, coffee, sugar, lemons, and dried fish have
178 long been common articles of diet for the villagers and have never been pro-
511 duced in the area. Additional income has increased the consumption of these items and has made for somewhat greater varation in the diet, but the assumption that a considerable amount of food must be purchased is an old one.

461 Specialization in Vasilika has noneconomic consequences as well. Since a
517 village farmer who has time to spare from his work in the fields and from his care
356 of his draught animals does not spend it on repair and maintenance chores on
463 his property, he has the time to go to the coffeehouse to sit and talk. In the late fall, one farmer kept saying, "A few more days of work, and then we will sit in the store. We sit all winter." Although he exaggerated the situation, his comments represented the regular expectation that for men, at least, relief from field chores was a relief from *all* kinds of work. The division of labor characteristic of the Boeotian countryside gives the men of Vasilika some true leisure time.

463 The foregoing discussion of specialization and division of labor in the
626 Boeotian countryside should not leave an impression of a rigid set of expectations
183 from which there are never any deviations. Although the pattern is a clear one, as in so many other aspects of the culture of Vasilika, individual variation, even to the point of reversing the ordinary expectation, is tolerated. For example, one farmer decided to construct a new oven for himself without the help of a stonemason or bricklayer. Everyone watched the progress of the small structure with interest but without any special comment. When, unfortunately, the entire structure collapsed just before it was finished, the men in the coffeehouse thought it a great joke and laughed heartily at the farmer's discomfiture. Only then did they remark on his lack of good sense in not getting an expert to do the job. He was not condemned for attempting to do something different; but he was ridiculed all the more strongly when he did not succeed. In less striking instances, farmers often assist an artisan with his work, and may even occasionally try their hands at whitewashing or laying a few bricks and the like. The point here however, is that it is neither a matter of pride nor of pleasure to have skills in many activities, and men and women alike prefer to avoid the chance of making themselves look ridiculous by trying to do something at which they are not certain to succeed.

178 Many of the economic patterns described in this and the previous chapter
241 have become characteristic on the Boeotian plain only within the last twenty-five
433 years, with considerable acceleration of change since 1950. Farmers in their

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

share of the land at the time of their marriage, the shares remaining for the sons will be too small to enable them to support their future wives and children, the family recognizes the problem and tries to make some adjustment that will prevent the threatened poverty. The villagers are well aware of the dangers of land fragmentation under a system of equal inheritance. The average land holding in Vasilika is already only one-third to one-fourth of what it was at the time the village was settled. Thanks to the introduction of irrigation and improvements in agricultural techniques (see Chapters 2 and 3), both the bulk of yields and the cash value of the crops in the area have increased to the point at which the farmers maintain a higher standard of living on the smaller holdings than their grandfathers did on the more extensive ones. But the process has its limits, and the future possibility of economically useless small holdings is a real hazard for Vasilika's families.

One kind of solution to its problem is for a family to try to train or educate its "surplus" sons for a nonfarming occupation; if possible, one that will send them to the towns and cities as white-collar workers or as professional men. This effort, however, is more than merely a solution to a recognized problem. Status as an urbanite has very high value for the villagers in its own right. As the previous chapter has shown, the families of Vasilika try to import urban ways into the village; their efforts to send their own sons and daughters directly into the towns and cities may now be discussed. For quite apart from the necessities of their situation, the people of Vasilika act as if they assumed that life in towns and cities is superior to life in a small village. This judgment is not based on a belief that there is necessarily greater economic well-being in the towns. On the contrary, the villagers believe it is more difficult to achieve a respectable standard in the larger centers and, indeed, that the plight of the poor is worse in the town than in the village. They say it is harder to have little when one is tempted by so much. But the villagers respect an educated man; education enables a person to pursue occupations which the villagers believe have greater prestige than farming, and the preponderance of these occupations are practiced in towns. Not only white-collar workers but also journalists, lawyers, doctors, writers, gymnasium and university professors congregate in the provincial towns and in Athens (cf. Antonakaki 1955:93). Even if a young man from Vasilika is not fortunate enough to work in one of these favored occupations—even if he is a tailor or a barber or an artisan of another type, or a small merchant—he is believed to acquire some aura of prestige simply by living in the more populous center.

The young girls of Vasilika want to marry into the towns because they are well aware of the greater physical ease and comfort available there and contrast these conditions favorably with the arduous and endless labor they are accustomed to in the village.

Still another incentive for gaining the status of a town dweller is the belief, in Vasilika, that life in town is more full of adventure and less monotonous than life in the village. Besides, the towns and Athens have crowds, and *pdis cosmos* (many people) are enjoyed by the villagers for their own sake. A *panyiri* or Easter is considered successful in proportion to the number of people

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

369 However, Vasilika is an open community in
463 still another sense. Both men and women born and raised in the village have
left it for other communities, and for occupations other than farming. Educa-
871 tion beyond the six years of compulsory schooling in the village is essential for
[873] any civil service or clerical job, and of course for any of the professions. The
gymnasiums or high school-junior colleges are in the towns. The farmer who
[166] wants his son to have higher education must send him out of the village at the
age of twelve with the hope that he will continue in the gymnasium for six
years. Upon graduation, and after a series of examinations, a successful son
may become a government employee in the tax office in Amphiklia, a post-office
employee or a policeman in Athens, perhaps a teacher in a village school, or an
employee in a bank. A village-bred boy sometimes returns to his own or a
[874] neighboring village as a physician. Nor is formal education the only way for a
[702] farm boy to change his occupation. In some families, sons are apprenticed to
barbers or tailors, and may eventually set up shop for themselves. In recent
[554] years, young men have been drafted at the age of 21 for two years of service in
the armed forces of Greece. The services not only give a young man experience
of other parts of Greece, but may teach him a trade as well. This situation un-
doubtedly provides increased opportunities for social mobility, but it is too
early for its possible permanent effects to be assessed.

594 Education or training beyond the village school (except for that provided
871 by the armed forces) is expensive by Greek standards. Although the tuition
[873] charge is slight, if any, at the gymnasium, a boy must be supported in the
town, and if there is no relative with whom he can live, this means a cash out-
lay. In spite of this fact, it is by no means only the sons of the more affluent
farmers who are educated. As a matter of fact, if a farmer has sufficient land
resources both to provide his daughters with adequate dowries and one of his
sons with a good farm, he will keep one boy on the land. But all the sons of
land-poor families may be sent for further education or training regardless of
the sacrifices involved.

369 Upward and outward mobility is possible for girls through the dowry sys-
554 tem and the prevailing marriage customs. Village exogamy is most usual, and a
58 woman goes to live in her husband's village. Marriage without a dowry is al-
most impossible in Greece, and the value of the dowry determines the future
social position of a girl and, to some extent, that of her family. The larger the
dowry a man can provide, the more likely it is that he will acquire a town or
city son-in-law engaged in a nonfarming occupation. There are other avenues
[871] of mobility for girls. A small proportion go to the gymnasium, and then either
train to become teachers, or are considered more valuable simply because they
have been educated, and can get a good husband without quite so large a
dowry. Another small group goes to the provincial town or to Athens to be
[463] trained as dressmakers or beauty operators, and may return to the villages to
engage in these occupations.[3] Such skills are considered real assets, and may
369 again improve the girl's chance of a good marriage. It would not be unusual,
602 therefore, for a farmer of Vasilika to run the farm with the help of one of
his sons, to have another son in Athens as a civil servant or a t[illegible]

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

contrast to Lewis, has noted the challenge to family ties which upward mobility creates in the wider Mexican scene as he describes it.

I therefore suggest that peasant communities differ both with respect to whether they exist as part of a nation in which social mobility for peasants is characteristic, and also with respect to whether kin ties are maintained in spite of mobility. If my analysis of the Greek material is valid, the determination of whether one or both of these conditions exist may well be an essential part of the study of peasant communities, and should also be included in the criteria for peasant typologies. Since peasant societies are by definition part societies, the question of whether kinship is a mechanism by which peasant communities maintain connections with the nations of which they are a part would seem to be a query which is not only strategic but one which anthropologists are especially qualified to explore. The implications of such studies for a clearer understanding of the structure and functions of kinship in urban communities as well as in rural villages are already apparent from the results of the work recently done in this field (Firth 1956; Garigue 1956).

NOTES

[1] This is a revised version of a paper prepared for a symposium on European peasant cultures held at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at Chicago in December, 1957.

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[2] Renée Kahane of the University of Illinois, in a private communication, points out that Greek women not infrequently become nurses or dentists. Village girls, she adds, may also become domestic servants in the towns or in Athens. These particular alternatives were not reflected in the genealogies or other data we collected in Vasilika, Boeotia.

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5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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take it." In the *Great Euchologion*, or Prayer Book, of the Greek Church the order for confession is in fact immediately preceded by a short office for the making of a *pneumatikos*, or spiritual father, in which the bishop, after he has read the Gospel containing our Lord's words: "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained", addresses the would-be *pneumatikos* (who must, needless to say, be in priests' orders) as follows:

"Our mediocrity, through the grace of the all-holy and divine Spirit, promotes thee, the most pious N. *Pneumatikos*, to the ministry of spiritual fatherhood, etc."

Covel quotes ancient canons to the effect that "if any one without the Mandate of the Bishop of the place shall dare to receive . . . spiritual accounts and Confessions, such a one shall be Canonically punished as a Transgressor of the Divine Canons; because he hath not only destroy'd himself, but all they also who have been Confessed by him are still unconfessed, and whatever things he hath Bound or Loosed, are yet uncorrected". And again: "Let all the Priest-Monks, who take Confessions, or Bind and Loose know that our Holy Fathers will not suffer any Priests to reconcile Penitents without the Archbishop's Order". According to an old canonist "a Bishop may . . . according to his Judgment, give this Right or Power of receiving Confessions to a secular Priest, but this is to be done discreetly, to some choice or well approved Persons only, and upon some extraordinary occasions".

Professor Bratsiotes, in the introduction which he contributed to the English translation of the life of the Archimandrite Eusebius Matthopoulos, observed that "unhappily there are very few confessors, because it is much more difficult to develop confessors than to train preachers; and it requires much individual genius and great maturity in virtue and experience to be a proper confessor". At the time when these words were written only eight members of the Zoë Confraternity—all trained theologians as they are—were licensed as confessors. In the country dioceses to-day the only clergy who are permitted to assist the bishop as *pneumatikoi* are the priest-monks attached to the metropolis; married priests who are authorised to hear confessions are rare indeed.

What then of the parish clergy? There is no parallel in Greece to the country parson who has "read the Fathers also and the Schoolmen and the later writers", and who has been one of the fairest ornaments of the English Church these many centuries. The Greek country parson is a

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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peasant farmer who cultivates his land like all his parishioners, and who exercises a ministry which is almost wholly liturgical in character. His ecclesiastical duties are limited in practice to administering the mysteries of baptism and the holy chrism; to marrying and burying, and offering week by week the unbloody sacrifice; to singing the divine office; to memorial services, blessings of homes and crops and sundry other objects, and to an occasional exorcism.

The parish priest *must* be married and at least thirty years of age, and the most that he can hope for in the way of preferment is a slight increase in his basic stipend if he is able to spend a year or two at one of the seminaries (*phrontisteria*) for parish clergy. This basic wage—which is supplemented by fees and offerings in kind, as well as by the fruit of the country parson's agricultural and other labours—is miserable enough. It was only in 1949 raised to 250,000 drachmas (the equivalent of less than six pounds sterling) a month: a pair of boots then cost about 70,000 drachmas and a pig perhaps 300,000. In such circumstances the support of a large family leaves little margin for luxuries, even when harvests are good and life runs smoothly and securely. Unsatisfactory as the economic position of the village *papas* remains, it is considerably better than it was fifty years ago. Until 1909 the parish priest was entirely dependent upon the fees of his parishioners and the labour of his own hands. The provision of a regular stipend—inadequate as this may seem—was only made possible by the creation of a General Ecclesiastical Fund deriving its income from confiscated monastic property and lands; and while the anti-monastic legislation of recent years has aroused considerable resentment among the monks themselves, there can be little doubt that the redistribution of wealth which it has involved has been of incalculable benefit to the Church as a whole.

Even in the towns the scope of the activities of the married clergy is strictly limited. There are a few married priests in Athens engaged in work of a type generally reserved for the monastic clergy; one of them, who presides over the press and information office of the *Apostoliki Diakonia* (the Home Mission of the Church of Greece) and has a son and a daughter who are both students of the theological faculty of the university, bears the title of *protopresbyter*—though this is rare in Greece. There are certain indications that the number of educated married clergy may before very long increase considerably; this has already happened among the Russians of the diaspora and elsewhere in the Orthodox world. It is, of course, from the celibate clergy that the bishops

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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1948, United States influence has replaced British, and in 1951 Greece was admitted to the NATO alliance along with her neighbor, Turkey. Greece thus belongs to the free world, yet her geographical position, along one margin of the Communist heartland of eastern Europe, creates a constant threat to the nation's security.

Ever since the second world war the Greeks have therefore had to wrestle simultaneously with the problems of poverty and of political insecurity. Both were old problems in Greek history, but the scale was new – so much so that Greek resources were by themselves quite inadequate to meet the difficulties that loomed large after 1945. Only the delivery of substantial amounts of foreign, and especially of American, aid prevented political collapse and Communist revolution in the years just after the war.

This book will try to describe the successes and failures in this struggle, and make an estimate of the prospects for ultimate success in relieving poverty and improving social stability in Greece. Before launching on an account of what has been achieved, however, something should be said about the character of Greek society, with special attention to the points of difference that divide us in the United States from the Greeks.

Life in the Villages

The fundamental fact about Greece today is that in spite of the rather rapid growth of towns and cities in recent decades, the country still remains predominantly agrarian. In 1950, according to a special agricultural census, rural families comprised 4,770,783 persons, or 63 per cent of the estimated total population of the country in that year. Some of these families supplemented their agricultural income by seasonal employment in towns or on roads or other public works, and should, perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Village Life]

perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers. Indeed, when one realizes that according to this same census the average family farm contained only a little more than 8 acres, and the amount of productive land per head of the rural population totaled just 1.75 acres, it is obvious that there are very few full-time farmers in Greece, if the term is taken to mean persons who busy themselves on the land throughout the year.

Except for a few weeks, when especially intensive work of cultivation or harvesting must be done, Greek peasant farmers enjoy a great deal of leisure, and spend it, characteristically, sitting in the village *cafeneion*, or coffee house, talking, playing backgammon, or just watching the passing scene. A casual observer might mistake such idleness for laziness; yet when tangible gain is to be won by working hard, Greek peasants do not spare themselves. But in practically every village there are far more hands than are needed to do the work of the fields; and when the needful work has been done, sitting in a coffee house is more entertaining than sitting at home. There a man may hear the latest gossip of the village, read the Athens newspapers, talk politics, and watch the shadows shift across the village square as the day progresses.

The women, on the other hand, lead a much harder life. Household tasks and the care of children take up most of the hours of the day, and in the seasons when field work is heavy, women work side by side with the men. For a woman to sit in a coffee house would be the grossest breach of etiquette, something quite unthinkable. The village water fountain may serve as a place for daily gossip; but it is the church which really provides the village women with a meeting place where they may on a Sunday morning, after (or even during) the service, talk and enjoy a few minutes of leisure each week. By a curious and unspoken law, the men of the villages usually do not attend church, save on feast days and other special occasions. Thus

[Town Life]

Greek townspeople; the difference is that townsmen must deal constantly with outsiders, whereas the peasants do so only occasionally.

This contrast lends a profoundly different timbre to town as against village life. In the countryside, a foreigner is treated as an honored family guest, and is often hard put to it to avoid abusing the hospitality of people who can ill afford to be generous. In towns, also, a foreigner is courteously received, but he will be cheated in small ways all the time. Prices tend to double when he appears on the scene, and if his tips, for services real or imaginary, are not far above the ordinary Greek level, he will be made to feel stingy.

Another marked characteristic of Greek town life is the sharpness of the line drawn between the manual and non-manual occupations. A secondary school education is the open sesame to a white-collar job, and a man who has achieved that level of education will not dirty his hands if he can help it. Otherwise he would seem to surrender the status so hard-won by his years in school. One consequence of this attitude is that skilled workmen and technicians are sometimes hard to find. Anyone in a position to afford an education will try for an academic course, preparing him for the white-collar class; a technical education which could only perpetuate a close connection with machinery and manual labor simply does not appeal to an ambitious boy. Even engineers are very prone to prefer a desk job to work in the field; and in the field they not infrequently dress in city clothes and supervise from a distance, where mud and other unpleasantnesses can be avoided. There are signs that these attitudes are weakening in the younger generation, but they are still very strong.

The disdain for manual labor is perhaps part of a more general social scheme of values which puts the rentier at or near the top of the social pyramid. To own land or buildings that will

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

higher than wages for unskilled labor in Athens. It is these wage rates, of course, that have attracted new settlers from the hills; but the fact that such labor is seasonal, lasting for only about four months in the year, means that families depending entirely on wage work are often in very hard straits.

The unparalleled prosperity that the years since 1953 have brought to the farmers of Corinth has been accompanied by the development of a number of nonagricultural occupations within the village. Several new stores and two new coffee houses have come into existence as well as the fancy restaurant for tourists. A number of persons also make a living as tourist guides. The richest men in the village, however, are merchants who have organized the delivery of tomatoes and other vegetables to the Athens market; they employ truck drivers, not all of whom live in the village. The two cooperatives employ, between them, a full-time, professionally trained secretary. The museum has a small staff of caretakers and curators. The village school had 210 pupils in 1956 and employed three teachers. A priest officiates in a handsome new church, which the villagers have built out of their own resources. Old Corinth, in other words, is developing into a small town, and ceasing to be a mere village. If the plan, only talked about in 1956, for establishing a small canning factory to preserve tomatoes is ever realized, the transition to a town status will become definite.

Nevertheless, from one point of view, the community has so far remained thoroughly traditional in its social organization. The substantial farmers of Old Corinth continue to adhere to age-old patterns of family life. When it comes time for their children to marry, the daughters are dowered, partly with money and partly with a share of crop land, vineyard and olive grove; and sons, similarly, inherit their portion of the parental farm. Clearly, if there are more than two children — and this is almost universally the case — the new generation will have to

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

ventured into territory controlled by the Greek army or police. Resentment against the Greek authorities was widespread, although one man in the village, in speaking to me privately, made it clear that he at least did not like to contribute to the upkeep of the guerrilla garrison that controlled the village.

The population of the village was 630 persons, of whom over 200 were under fifteen years of age. Thus there was about one fifth of an acre of agricultural land per head, land that was miserably poor to begin with. Clearly the village could not live on its agriculture; and even when it had been safe to graze sheep on the barren mountain slopes, as it was not in 1947, the village still could not begin to maintain itself on local resources. The villagers calculated that they could produce food for about four months in the year; the deficit had to be made good outside.

In prewar years two means had been found to make ends meet. The men of the village were accomplished masons, and traveled far and wide over Greece seeking work as builders. In addition, they found work in various sorts of heavy construction – road building, irrigation works and the like. But in 1947 such jobs were not to be had, at least not by men with a Slavic accent.

The second, and perhaps more important, resource was remittances from abroad. The village had begun to send men overseas, mainly to Canada and Australia, even before the first world war. During the interwar years, the migration had continued despite growing barriers to free movement. In Toronto, Canada, and in Sydney, Australia, natives of Kotta had founded regular little colonies, and the members of these emigrant groups, all of whom were related to one another in some degree, helped to finance the continued emigration. Each family expected to send at least one son overseas, and that son was in turn expected to send back enough of his earnings to keep his parents fed and clothed, and to help out his brothers and sisters who stayed home.

/18 cont./

ripe olives, salty fish and plenty of wine or whisky. It has been an accepted principle among the farmers to buy plenty of tonic, that is whisky, during rush work seasons. Lack of proper food and care makes the children an easy prey for diseases.

Trading. The centuries-old method to use money as seldom as possible and to exchange goods still holds true, and it is one of the most satisfactory ways of trade under such conditions. There are several ways through which trading is done. Two bazaar days or market days are held very close to the village. One is 4 miles and the other is 5 miles. The largest is in the city of Kilkis which draws farmers from 160 villages. All the roads leading to Kilkis are jammed with every kind /19/ of travelling beast and every kind of farm products. Most people walk loaded either with live poultry, eggs, skins, butter, cheese, vegetables, wheat, etc. Very seldom one finds any person with money unless he decides to buy an animal. All these goods are exchanged in the city market either between farmers or farmers and urban people or merchants. The merchant weighs the butter and at once calculates how many pounds of sugar it can buy or live oil, or fish, or spaghetti, etc. If the farmer thinks it was a good offer the transaction is made at once, but if the farmer thinks it was too little he starts bargaining and the discussion back and forth may result in a fight or break off relations. Everything in the market is sold through bargaining. Those that do not know how to bargain usually hire expert bargainers. The most interesting part of the bazaar is the animal section. Here the buyers or the expert bargainers are called "jampaz" (tricky man). They are expert in buying and selling animals, and they are highly paid for their services. These people are well trained in animal judging and experts in telling the age of the animals. They are dressed up more uniformly and their pocket books are swollen up with money.

In the afternoon the tide of the farmers is toward /20/ their villages. The farmers go to and from the bazaar loaded. Usually they carry the load on their shoulders or use an animal. In

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262
[273]
437
[443]
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/60 cont./

Rotation of crops is neglected due to the high price of wheat. The best land is put into wheat and the poor land into oats and barley. The recent introduction of vetch may revolutionize the rotation system and may help answer the livestock management problems.

The Local Groceries. Out of five groceries two have closed due to depression years of 1930-33. The three groceries are doing well only on books. Their /61/ non-collected capital exceeds 3 times their active capital. The cooperative grocery gives keen competition but its credit is limited to members and it has a successful way of collecting the debts at threshing time with the cooperatives' threshing machine. Just before threshing the three local groceries treat their customers with wine and whisky so as to be able to collect their debts. All kinds of methods are used at harvest time.

The local grocery owners do their farming too and in most cases all their farming jobs are done by the farmers in paying their debts. No grocery man could make his living out of grocery business alone, but keeps it for spending his leisure time.

PART IV. HABITS OF CONSUMPTION

Household Expenditures. People who lose all they had two to four times in their lifetime will not want to buy anything unless its need is essential. Life is more or less simplified and the household expenditures run very low. In one of the accounts we find that for household expenditures the farmer spent 2.500 drs. ($16.66). This sum is too high. We must remember that these farmers were just settled and had nothing whatsoever to start with.

/62/ A few small chairs, a rough table, a few wooden spoons and a few copper kitchenware make the kitchen's utensils. Pictures of a few relatives and their own hang on the wall with a few handmade embroideries.

/98 cont./ 796 571

4. The spirit of benevolence reaches its zenith. Donations to the church and to the poor.
5. Exchange of ideas with other villagers and thus benefit from each other's experience.
6. It is a day when everybody feels alike with no class distinction.

How local services are paid. There are three coffee houses in the village and they all work on a credit system to be collected in the summer. During the harvest season it is surprising to find more outside people with sacks and scales who come around to collect the debts than farmers. 452 [275]

/99/ The horseshoer, the herdsman, the barber, the priest, the school-committee, the tailor, the local hospital committee, the coffee house men, the local grocery merchant, the town merchants, the blacksmith, the tin man, the carpenter, the doctor, the drug man, the mid-wife, the guard of the fields, the vegetable man, the wagon builder, the cheese man and the tax collector. Usually at the harvest season the coffee houses are filled with collectors. They get information from each other to the quality of wheat collected from different farmers. Most of the agreements are based on an amount of wheat and not on money as a basis. For example, the barber for hair cutting and shaving gets 12 okes of wheat (33.60 lbs) for one year. The herdsman charges 3 okes of wheat per head for the year. The doctor gets 10 okes of wheat per family for the year. It is surprising here to find how much of the business transaction are carried out on commodity bases rather than with money. [463] [275] 452 436 465 437

Cast of Personalities. In the social interaction which takes place in a community, certain personalities emerge which develop into the community's cast of actors. These are the people who provide the /100/ foci of attention, about whom gossip circulates more than others, and who give to the community its really human qualities. Among these characters are both the heroes and the villains. They are outstanding, however, not so much because 156 554 [521]

G 175 648 B 175 648

But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, according to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages)(1).

[463] [177] [341] [342] [171]

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

G [342] [171]

B 177 341

Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic(!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov**, op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934. p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos**, Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali**, Ἠπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη. Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II. 3 (1919) pp. 250 foll.

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that he is to have a little sibling; or she may simply wait until the birth, and explain that the midwife brought the sibling. The knee baby is openly expected to be jealous, and visitors inquire in his presence whether he is so. When he sees the mother suckling the new baby, he may cry for suck too; in this case the mother will invite him to suckle on the other side, or offer him a piece of bread; or, if she knows him to be jealous or sickly, she may invite him on her own initiative. Such jealousy apparently does not last long. The knee baby is already used to having his mother shout at him and then treat him with warmth and gentleness; he does not find this condition changed. The mother makes no effort to hide her delight in the new baby, to share herself equally, with fairness. Instead, she invites the knee baby to share in her wonder and excitement over the new baby. He has already been sharing in her everyday life and work, and he shares in this also. Gradually, he takes on her attitude, the cherishing, loving, responsible attitude which characterizes the relationship of older to younger siblings in Greece.

There is a magazine addressed to parents, now in its fourth year; but Greek newspapers carry no child care sections, either on weekdays or Sundays. Of the magazines, only those catering to non-intellectuals, such as *Romanza*, carry child and maternal care information; the articles are usually translations from foreign articles. The material is generally developed on behaviouristic principles, stressing scheduling and isolation of the baby.

EDUCATION

Education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece, and above all, professional education. The doctor, the lawyer, the engineer and the specialist have high standing and command large dowries. A university professor has high standing; a schoolteacher has the respect of the people, but has lost some of the standing which he had before education became centralized. The printed word is very important, even revered. It is traditionally so; the calends of Saint Basil, sung on the night of 31 December, represent the Saint as carrying a book and paper and ink-well. The lullabies often promise the baby boy a high education, the baby girl an educated bridegroom. In a folk song, a girl, rejecting a suitor, says she will marry only an educated man.

There has been universal compulsory education up to the sixth grade since 1911,[1] but the peasants, particularly the women, are reported to be largely illiterate. This is due only in part to the fact that money for girls goes into dowry rather than for further schooling.

[1] John Maurogordato, 1931, p. 85.